471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
● [626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
793 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1.	Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2.	Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

158 /56 cont./ According to reports, adults are also subject
626 to such attacks, however, I never witnessed this. To be sure, an adult sometimes uses it as a threat, for instance, when he (she) has set his (her) mind on something that seems unattainable. A woman from Macassar who had caused a drum (ganrang) to be played at a festival of her kin group in Goa was questioned about this by the kapalakampong /kampong head/ concerned, since playing the ganrang is a prerogative of the nobility in Goa. She threatened with adjallo' if the use of the drum should be forbidden her, and finally a decision was made that the drum could be played because she did not live in Goa and at home in Macassar she was allowed to play the ganrang.

[533 565]

In Macassar a girl who was sixteen years old and still at school threatened adjallo' because she wanted to continue attending school in spite of obvious disapproval on the part of her mother and aunts. A man arranged his second marriage behind the back of his first wife because, as he said, he was afraid that she would adjallo' and in so doing might well prevent his second marriage if she heard about it beforehand.

The reaction of others to such fits of temper was one of aversion. People turned away; no one made an attempt to help, nor did anyone appear angry. It was believed that nothing could be done about it.

158 Both phenomena, mobility and adjallo', in my opinion
578 should be regarded as expressions of a conflict for which the individual sees no other solution, a conflict which is based on personality structure. It was impossible for me to do any further investigation along these lines. The fact that both sexes participate in mobility to the same extent might suggest the /57/ necessity for an analysis of the "basic personality structure" /cited in English/ (1) of the Makassarese.

1. For this term see A. Kardiner, most recently in The Psychological Frontiers of Society, New York, 1945.

554 /95 cont./ resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had
declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately
562 apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct.
565 The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's
582 group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals
626 or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility, New York and London, 1927, p. 133.

Each stat[illegible] /group/ has its own external characteristics by whi[illegible]bers are differentiated from the others. Forms of [illegible] intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

565 /99 cont./ of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and kapala-kampong. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (adinging dinging) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that
565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the karaëng
● 626 group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
694 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1),

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent
[177] figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

/101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group. They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bridegroom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

571 /108 cont./ prefer to carry messages or summon people;
634 others are especially charged with the care of horse and gig (bendi). As good followers, however, they are at the same time the cars and eyes of their master. They report to him everything that happens in the kampongs so that he remains
571 fully informed. They may, in certain cases, proceed harshly
634 if someone commits a discourtesy against the head, for it is
626 also their task to punish a breach of authority in a manner clear to everyone. Each attempt to undermine authority must be suppressed. Not to react to it is regarded as a sign of weakness. In these times of fixed boundaries this is not so serious, but in the period before 1905, there immediately existed the threat of a defection with all its consequences.

571 The followers of the adat community head of Borongloë
634 numbered seven in July, 1948. They included, first, one of
[608] his cousins (samposikali); second, a Javanese who had remained in South Celebes as ex-romusha (1), had learned the

1. A Japanese word which acquired the meaning of "forced laborer."

language, and had come to feel at home in Borongloë; and third, five sons and sons-in-law of followers of his father when he had been head.

/109/ Another adat community head had the same number of followers, but among them were three contemporaries linked to him through personal ties that dated from previous periods of his life, among others his school period. These ties now constituted the basis of their follower relationship.

The difference between these two adat community heads is clear. In the latter case we are dealing with a head who, for the maintenance of his power, relied, at least in part, on the ties personally created by him. In the first case, the head,

622 /126 cont./ kinsman of the previous kapala, is demonstrable. In 7 of the 14 kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë, the kapala changed between 1939 and 1949. Three of these were succeeded by a son, one by a son-in-law, one by a younger cousin, and two by someone from another group of relatives. In the first of these cases, the old kapala was a Sajid /Sayid?/, a stranger who was forced to leave the kampong and the adat community because of woman trouble. In the last case, the new kapala was a distant kinsman of the adat community head. This man had sailed across many seas as a KPM sailor. He possessed a quiet influence over people and was elected without much opposition.

626

622 It seems, therefore, that the kapala and the prominent
602 members of his group of relatives strive to maintain themselves
662 in their own kampong territory, to strengthen their own position if possible, and to raise their own standing outside the region by establishing ties with equal or slightly higher groups.

634 The adat community head conducts a policy which inside
602 his region is, in the first place, directed at making his own
662 group of relatives into as strong a unit as possible, and, in the second place, to strengthen as much as possible his influence in the kampong where he has no kinsmen living. The latter is done by establishing a marriage tie, or by trying to have a

858 /142 cont./ first menstruation, the girls are "caged"
867 (nikappara'); the separation from the other sex is thereby completed. From now on she is also subject to the many restrictions in social relations which obtain between men and women in general and between unmarried men and women in particular. "She is already staying at home" (ammantammi ri balla') is an indication of the age of a girl when she is around ten years old. At this time she enters
[291] the group of women, where she belongs to the young girls (tau lolo), who are also called "the red jackets" (badju' edja), after the conspicuous red jacket of slightly transparent material which they wear.

867 She learns that she must withdraw at the arrival of male visitors, that she may not be conspicuous, and that she must lower her voice. The girl who enters the front room (kale balla') even though there are guests is told off with a disapproving "she dares." A girl who talked loudly was
[864] angrily asked: "Who do you want to hear your voice?" If a girl shows her desire for a man by being conspicuous and by talking loudly, she is considered late (man-crazy), one of the most undesirable qualities in a girl.

857 A young girl only leaves the house in the company
867 of older women. Little excursions are holidays for her. She dresses carefully for these occasions; she makes herself up, blackens her eyebrows and the hairline on her forehead,
855 /143/ and powders her face. The older women guard and protect her. In their presence a young girl is safe. If she is alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is
[626] considered a breach of established forms of social intercourse. If a neighbor woman were to see and talk about it, so that the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel siri' and act accordingly.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life. The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
626 character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
571

1. Called Adengka ase lolo, "the pounding of the young paddy."

374 regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534 beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia) means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
558 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
626 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

158 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency
181 which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the koro phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There
626 are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live
558 alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become siri'. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be siri' because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in
[369] Macassar as well as in the larger pasar places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The pasar place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

565 /173 cont./ standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the karaëng's kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /standen, here statuses?/ are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man
595 who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to
[626] the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The silariang institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/173/ Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

834 Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes, young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted
833 with the formulas that are correct in the Moslem view. It is possible that this is a local development. Elsewhere in South Celebes I did not hear of such marrying again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

[602] If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and [593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings some-
●626 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her [761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

593 /203 cont./ 1. That is to say, then
626 she will soon die. For
833 when a corpse is placed
[761] upon the bier made of
bamboo, the bier creaks.

does he feel shame because she refuses him. Her kinsmen feel a little embarassed (siri' siri') because they brought about the marriage and therefore also bear responsibility for her refusal, so they are extremely friendly toward the young man.

586 The belief that the performance of ritual can cause a
[833] man or wife to give up his (her) refusal to have sexual intercourse entails that one waits for a long time before officially dissolving the contracted marriage. This is usually done with the mutual consent of the older people. Only when the latter have given up hope, after at least a year has elapsed, that the marriage could still become "good," is one of the two spouses permitted to marry someone else. Only then is the divorce of the first marriage registered.

In the case of couples who have been living separately for a long period of time, people often do not exactly know whether the Moslem marriage dissolution has already taken place. Little interest is shown in this.

The unwillingness of a young man is thus accepted, even though people are not simply satisfied with this right away. But one does not accept his giving the talak /formal repudiation. -- Ed./. A case of a young man disposing of his wife against the wishes of his older kinsmen was unknown in Borongloë. Informants believed that he would disgrace his kin group by doing so.

593 Even though a couple is "good" together after the wedding
833 festivities are over, this relationship may not be lasting in a number of cases. After a shorter or longer period of time, no more sexual relations take place in such a case. This

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she

[626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often re-married very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1).

[428]

588 /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made in 1938 to the effect that a deeper knowledge of the Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons that lead to a silariang marriage has therefore proved incorrect. See /Ibid./ Vol. 149, p. 334.

684

[114]

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the
684 man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then
[626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because
[558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

/217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these consequences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and generally that is not his intention.

/218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner. Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

When she is being discussed, one of the older women, sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is always denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was, however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately take action. They organize a search, question the women, arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say, they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
C84 a trace do they return home one after the other.

[562] The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her [626 558] without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

684/221 cont./ affair is herewith ended and that neither man
695 nor woman may be subjected to any more difficulties. In practice, however, the man, at least initially, does not show his face in a kampong where many of the woman's kinsmen reside. For safety's sake he does not do so until, for instance, she is married to another man, and feelings with regard to him have quieted down somewhat.

626 The feelings with respect to the woman who has been
684 taken back home by her own kin group have not yet completely calmed down either. She has committed a mistake which lies more in the area of the salimara' than that of silariang. She is familiar with the danger connected with it and therefore takes care to conduct herself as inconspicuously as possible, so that her male kinsmen will be reminded as little as possible of her existence. In the few cases that such a separation took place, the woman was practically always married off shortly thereafter. In a single case where this did not happen, she
[588] fled three years later with another man likewise lower. This time the wali nonetheless had to give his consent for the marriage under pressure from the imam, who pointed out that he had taken poor care of this woman's siri' by not finding a man for her.

684 As a reason for having fled with a man, a girl sometimes
834 states that he forced her to do so and that he threatened to kill her if she did not go with him. The jurist who /222/ would accept "forcible abduction," in all such cases would make a mistake. It could not be expected of a girl to confess, even as a sworn witness before the judge, that she went with her "abductor" of her own volition. This would be a sign that she desired him, and this cannot be expected from any woman who is brought up in the idea that the display of this desire (lale) is greatly reprehensible (1).

1. In such a case one might consider not swearing in the abducted woman, of whom it

684 /222 cont./ cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But
● [626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are
834 frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this
588 younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /223 cont./ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 silariang is regarded as bad (kodi) and a festive wedding as good (badji'). A young man who likes a girl may ask her whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad," that is to say, silariang.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the toko /stores/
834 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
[226] criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee, and most of these were made not so much through a lust for adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to marry a modern young woman who can get along in company. Silariang was therefore a means for them to carry out their wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in a good way" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderengangku), she would say, and the young men would be content with that. She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "silariang" when a man and woman flee
684 together, and of "erangkale" (literally, "to bring one's self") when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who has made her siri'. Reasons for these two forms of silariang are not different either in principle or in consequences. Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

588 /223 cont./ leaves alone or with the man. I call it an
684 accident, for instance, whether she succeeds in arranging a rendezvous for the flight through an intermediary. The fear that upon (unintentional) forbidden contact, the reaction will be a /224/ stab with the knife is always one of the motives for her flight.

588 When a woman flees to a man, the latter can do nothing
626 but go with her. He would be no "man," not even in the
558 opinion of his own kin group, if he did not do so. Rather than letting it be said of him that he "flees from a woman," he goes with her to the village or religious functionary, marries, and in so doing invites all the difficulties which a silariang marriage brings with it. Then he behaves as beseems a man.

588 It is assumed as a matter of course that a woman who
686 takes refuge with a man has reason for this. The man who
684 refuses marriage in such a case can be sure that he will no longer be an acceptable guest to many people. It is regarded as very reprehensible to make a girl siri' and then not to marry her. I was able to record only two instances of this.

684 When a girl of approximately thirteen years of age had taken refuge with a man of about twenty-six, the latter denied that he had given cause for this. He had known her a long time, so he said, and his feelings toward her had
[626] merely been those of a brother. He lamented what she had done because now they were both siri' in his opinion, she, because she fled, and he because many would be unwilling to accept his refusal and would therefore be loath to receive him in their houses. It is noteworthy about this statement that this man placed the siri' feeling of the woman beside his own. Thus, he ascribes to her siri' feelings which normally only men are supposed to possess, feelings which arise when an attempt, made in public, to attain something fails.

In the other example, the man admitted that he did have some fun with the woman who fled to him (bandjulu',

684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

588 626 684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as beseems a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689 609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834 684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

622 /232 cont./ siri' feelings must be repressed. It is also always
627 a superior who makes the first attempts at creating a reconciliation. The tumasiri' cannot oppose his clearly expressed wishes, unless they have special reasons for doing so. However,
[577] the tumasiri' can only be expected to begin by fighting against a reconciliation, because this is masculine, and it is therefore appreciated if one adopts an unconciliatory attitude and pretends that this siri' can only be reconciled by death.

But there are limits to the pressure which a superior can exercise in such an instance. If the pressure is too strong, his wish is not accepted by a number of tumasiri'. At most, the one who during preparatory conversations had personal contact with the superior feels obligated toward the superior. Opposition grows between the tumasiri', and through "incorrect understanding" the reconciliation ceremony ends in failure. In that case the tumasiri'-tumannjala relation continues to exist. This was the case when the brother of a woman who had fled yielded to the pressure of the gurukampong to agree to the reconciliation. At the hour that had been fixed, none of the other kinsmen was present in the house to which the tumannjala were supposed to come. Previously the rumor had circulated that difficulties were to be expected. For that reason the adat community head had sent a representative. Since the personal authority of the gurukampong was insufficient, someone higher than he had to be present in order to prevent bloodshed.

The two tumannjala were received by the representative of the /233/ head, the gurukampong (the mediator), and the wife's brother. The situation was extremely difficult for the
[626] brother . He was present in order not to be impolite toward the gurukampong, but among his kinsmen he was regarded as the one who had shown insufficient awareness of the disgrace that had been inflicted upon them. He was spared being asked for forgiveness by the couple and having his hand grasped by

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes. 565 567 178

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status. 696 681 567 626 [684 588]

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set. 557 565 556

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners. 554 531

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the 178 554 342 565 531